

Message Text

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USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMCONSUL KRAKOW

AMCONSUL POZNAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 8270

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SUBJECT: SEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS: A RETROSPECT

REF: A) WARSAW 8010 NOTAL; B) WARSAW 8070 NOTAL;
C) WARSAW 8990 NOTAL; D) WARSAW 6334 NOTAL; D) WARSAW
8162 NOTAL; F) WARSAW 8084 NOTAL; G) WARSAW 7679 NOTAL;
H) WARSAW A-393, 11/12/75 NOTAL.

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1. SUMMARY: THE SEVENTH PZPR CONGRESS DECEMBER 8-12

WENT GENERALLY AS EXPECTED. IT WAS PERSONAL TRIUMPH FOR FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK, ALTHOUGH, UNLIKE THE SIXTH CONGRESS IN DECEMBER, 1971, WHICH CHARTED MAJOR NEW DIRECTIONS IN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY, THE SEVENTH WAS ONE OF CONSOLIDATION AND REAFFIRMATION. THE SPEECHES BY FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK AND PREMIER JAROSZEWICZ HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED BY OUR BRITISH COLLEAGUES AS COMPRISING A "MID-TERM REPORT," FAVORABLY ASSESSING GENERAL PROGRESS IN THE PAST FOUR YEARS AND CALLING ESSENTIALLY FOR MORE OF THE SAME, THOUGH AT REDUCED TEMPO. GIEREK BASKED IN BREZHNEV'S BLESSINGS, AND, WITH THE SOVIET LEADER'S APPARENT ASSENT, PROCLAIMED POLAND TO BE EMBARKING ON A NEW STAGE OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT, A TASK HE CAUTIOUSLY NOTED WOULD TAKE A GENERATION AND WOULD REQUIRE THE FULL COMMITMENT OF A SOCIETY UNITED BEHIND THE PZPR AS ITS LEADING FORCE AND GUIDED BY A BLEND OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND POLISH PARTIOTISM. ALTHOUGH HE LASHED OUT AT ANTI-SOCIALIST AND NATIONALISTIC ELEMENTS, GIEREK'S BASIC MESSAGE WAS ONE OF CONCILIATION WHICH SOFTENED, FOR INSTANCE, THE ANTI-CHURCH OVERTONES OF THE CONGRESS GUIDELINES ISSUED LAST SEPTEMBER. THE SOVIET ALLIANCE AND CEMA INTEGRATION GO MAJOR EMPHASIS, BUT GIEREK TWICE ASSERTED--AT LEAST IMPLICITLY--A POLISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM, AND MADE CLEAR HIS INTENTION TO CONTINUE IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF DETENTE. GIEREK'S CONTROL OF THE PARTY NOW SEEMS VIRTUALLY UNCHALLENGED. DESPITE CONTINUED POPULAR GRUMBLING, HIS SUPPORTERS BELIEVE HE HAS GONE FAR TOWARD ESTABLISHING, IF NOT LEGITIMACY, AT LEAST AN IDENTIFICATION WITH THE PEOPLE. WHETHER HE WILL RETAIN THEIR CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT DEPENDS ULTIMATELY ON HOW HE FILLS HIS PROMISE TO GIVE THEM A BETTER LIFE. HIS FIRST BIG TEST IN THIS REGARD WILL OCCUR IN 1976 WHEN THE REGIME FINALLY COMES TO GRIPS WITH THE NEURALGIC QUESTION OF PRICE RISES, WHICH IT HAS PUT OFF SO LONG. END SUMMARY.

2. THE HALLMARK OF THE CONGRESS WAS CONTINUITY--OF BOTH POLICY AND, FOR THE MOST PART, PERSONNEL. TWO RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED--ONE EACH FOR DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY. THE FORMER HAS BEEN PUBLISHED; THE OTHER HAS YET TO APPEAR. JUDGING FROM GIEREK'S PROGRAM REPORT ON THE FIRST

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DAY (REF A) AND JAROSZEWICZ'S DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL-ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS (REF B) THE CHANGES THEY ADVANCE WILL ENTAIL ADJUSTING METHODS, RATHER THAN SHIFTING FUNDAMENTAL POLICY. WE HAVE SUMMARIZED FOREIGN-POLICY ASPECTS OF GIEREK'S REPORT (REF C). ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET ALLIANCE AND THE NEED FOR FURTHER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION WITH CEMA COUNTRIES BECAME A CONSTATE REFRAIN DURING THE CONGRESS, GIEREK CLEARLY STATED HIS INTEN-

TION OF CONTINUING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES. HIS ESPECIALLY POSITIVE REMARKS ABOUT US-POLISH RELATIONS HAVE DRAWN COMMENT FROM OUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES HERE. IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT, IN HIS REPORT TO THE SIXTH CONGRESS IN 1971, GIEREK DID NOT MENTION THE UNITED STATES AT ALL IN DISCUSSING RELATIONS WITH NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

3. THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTENT OF DISCUSSION BEFORE AND DURING THE CONGRESS WAS LOFTY. MUCH OF THIS INVOLVED ELABORATION OF THE CONCEPT OF BUILDING A DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY TO WHICH POLAND NOW ASPIRES. A HOST OF OTHER NOTIONS FALL UNDER THIS RUBRIC--SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY, AND THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN STATE ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION TO BUILD SOCIALISM MORE EFFECTIVELY. THE GUIDELINES (REF D) HAD SINGLED POSSIBLY SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES REFLECTING THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE AND POLAND'S SOCIALIST CHARACTER. HOWEVER, GIEREK'S FORMULATION AND RECENT, PRIVATE, ASSURANCES OF POLISH OFFICIALS HAVE TENDED TO MINIMIZE THEIR SCOPE. POSSIBLY, THIS LOWER KEY RESULTS FROM THE WIDESPREAD ALARM THE PROPOSALS EMBODIED IN THE GUIDELINES AROUSED AMONG CATHOLICS AND INTELLECTUALS (REF E). THE SEJM AT ITS DECEMBER 19 SESSION CREATED A SPECIAL CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION HEADED BY COUNCIL OF STATE CHAIRMAN JABLONSKI TO FRAME THE PROPOSALS INTO LEGISLATION, BUT THEIR EXACT NATURE HAS NOT BEEN REVEALED. THE COMMISSION IS SCHEDULED TO REPORT IN FEBRUARY.

4. GIEREK SUGGESTED FURTHER TASKS FOR THE IDEOLOGUES WHEN HE NOTED THAT NOT ALL SECTORS WILL ADVANCE AT THE SAME RATE TOWARD DEVELOPED SOCIALISM. HE SEEMED TO BE MAKING ALLOWANCES BOTH FOR POLAND'S CATHOLICISM AND ITS

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PRIVATELY-BASED AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM. HE FURTHER SUGGESTED THAT, WHILE MINDFUL OF THE SOVIET EXAMPLE, POLAND WILL MAKE "CONSTRUCTIVE" ADAPTATIONS TO SUIT ITS OWN HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES. THIS THEME HAD EMERGED IN A MAJOR IDEOLOGICAL COMMENTARY BY ZYCIE WARSZAWY THE WEEK BEFORE THE CONGRESS. GIEREK IN BREZHNEV'S PRESENCE MADE THE POINT IN HIS INITIAL ADDRESS AND REPEATED IT IN HIS CLOSING REMARKS DECEMBER 12.

5. IN AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE KIND OF IDEOLOGICAL AGILITY WE MAY SEE IN THE FUTURE, A RECENT ARTICLE IN PRAWO I ZYCIE SOUGHT TO JUSTIFY INCREASED EAST-WEST TRADE IN IDEOLOGICAL TERMS BY OBSERVING THAT THE EXPANDED CONTACTS THUS STIMULATED WOULD PROMOTE BETTER CONDITIONS FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN RULING COMMUNIST PARTIES AND WEST EUROPEAN COMMU-

NISTS AND PROGRESSIVE SOCIALISTS, THEREBY FACILITATING PROPAGATION OF COMMUNIST IDEALS. A POLISH MANAGEMENT ECONOMIST RECENTLY ACKNOWLEDGED TO US THE LIKLIHOOD OF INCREASED IDEOLOGICAL EMPHASIS IN THE POST-CONGRESS PERIOD, BUT HE CONTENDED THAT THE CONGRESS DEMONSTRATED ALSO THAT THE TECHNOCRATS HOLD SWAY AND ARE THE MASTERS OF THE IDEOLOGUES.

6. CONFIRMING THIS VIEW, A POLISH MEDIA OFFICIAL NOTED THE CONTINUING REQUIREMENT TO EXPLAIN TO WORKERS CONDITIONED TO OPPOSE CAPITALISM WHY THERE IS SO MUCH AMERICAN MACHINERY IN THEIR PLANTS. HE ALSO POINTED TO PRESSURES FROM POLAND'S MORE IDEOLOGICALLY-MINDED NEIGHBORS. FINALLY, HE REMARKED THAT GIEREK, WHILE IDEOLOGICALLY-MINDED HIMSELF, IS CONVINCED THAT THE WAY TO PROVE THE MERITS OF SOCIALISM IS TO MAKE THE SYSTEM WORK. THE OFFICIAL OBSERVED THAT GIEREK HAS UNQUESTIONABLY ACHIEVED AN IDENTIFICATION WITH THE PEOPLE UNMATCHED BY ANY OF HIS COMMUNIST PREDECESSORS.

7. THE MAIN POLITICAL SURPRISE OF THE CONGRESS IS THAT THERE WAS EVEN LESS CHANGE IN THE TOP LEADERSHIP THAN EXPECTED. THOUGH ENLARGED, BOTH THE POLITBIURO AND SECRETARIAT RETAIN ESSENTIALLY THE SAME PERSONNEL--EXCEPT FOR THE LONG-FORESEEN DISMISSAL OF THE DISCREDITED FRANCISZEK SZLACHCIC, THE ADMITTANCE AS A CANDIDATE TO THE POLITBIURO

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OF RECENTLY-APPOINTED PLANNING COMMISSION CHAIRMAN TADEUSZ WRZASZCZYK, AND THE PROMOTION OF SEVERAL FORMER CANDIDATES TO FULL MEMBERSHIP IN BOTH BODIES (SEE REF F)

8. THE ONLY REALLY UNFORESEEN CHANGE WAS THE ELEVATION OF YOUTH FEDERATION CHAIRMAN ZDZISLAW KUROWSKI TO THE POSITION OF MEMBER OF THE SECRETARIAT. THIS PRESAGES

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMCONSUL KRAKOW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 8270

CLOSER COORDINATION OF YOUTH ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE PARTY FRAMEWORK AND LOGICALLY FOLLOWS ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERATION ITSELF TWO YEARS AGO AND ITS FURTHER CONSOLIDATION LAST FALL. MOREOVER, THE NEED FOR BETTER INTEGRATION OF THE YOUTH GROUPS WITH THE PARTY ORGANIZATION HAD BEEN WIDELY DISCUSSED IN VARIOUS YOUTH PUBLICATIONS. KUROWSKI'S APPOINTMENT EFFECTIVELY ACCOMPLISHES THIS AT THE TOP-LEVEL. LOSING LITTLE TIME IN GETTING DOWN TO WORK, CONFIDENTIAL

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HE CALLED A THREE-DAY CONFERENCE OF YOUTH-GROUP ACTIVITISTS FROM AROUND THE COUNTRY ON DECEMBER 15-17, TO OUTLINE TASKS UNDER THE SEVENTH CONGRESS PROGRAM.

9. WE HAD LEARNED JUST BEFORE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEW POLITBIURO THAT THERE HAD BEEN CONSIDERATION OF EXPANDING THE MEMBERSHIP TO ABOUT 30 WITH CREATION OF A SMALLER PRESID-IUM. THIS STEP WAS NOT TAKEN, BUT THERE IS STILL SOME TALK ABOUT EVENTUAL CHANGES IN THE POLITBIURO MAKE-UP TO

ADAPT IT TO GIEREK'S PREFERENCES. THE ESSCUSU TC # MAY BE

FUELED BY OCCASIONAL PAST-REPORTS OF DIVISIONS IN POLITBIURO VOTING REFLECTING OPPOSITION TO GIEREK ON SOME POLICY ISSUES. THE FOUR NEW VOTING MEMBERS, KOWALCZYK, KANIA, GRUDZIEN, AND KEPA, SHOULD PROVIDE RELIABLE SUPPORT FOR GIEREK'S POLICIES.

10. IF GIEREK'S GRIP ON THE OLD POLITBIURO WAS NOT ABSOLUTE, HIS HOLD ON THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC) IS UNDOUBTED. ACTUAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE TURNOVER WAQK LESS THAN ANTICIPTED DUE TO THE UNEXPECTED DECISION TO EXPAND IT FROM THE 115 ELECTED LAST TIME TO 140. THERE ARE 77 HOLDOVERS (55 PERCENT). OF THE NEW MEMBERS, 46 ARE TOTALLY NEW TO THE CENTRAL PARTY LEADERSHIP, WITHOUT PREVIOUS SERVICE AS CANDIDATE CC MEMBERS OR MEMBERS OF THE CONTROL OR AUDITING COMMISSIONS. ABOUT HALF OF THESE ARE NEWLY APPOINTED PROVINCIAL PARTY FIRST SECRETARIES OR GOVERNORS, AND THE REST COME FROM KEY INDUSTRIAL SECTORS. THERE ARE SEVERAL WHO HAD BEEN APPOINTED TO GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES OR CENTRAL PARTY POSTS DURING THE PAST COUPLE OF YEARS, SUCH AS FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER JERZY OLSZEWSKI, DOMESTIC TRADE AND SERVICES MINISTER JERZY GAWRYSIAK, GIEREK'S TOP EXECUTIVE AIDE JERZY WASZCZUK, CC ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT DEPUTY DIRECTOR KRYSTYN DABROWA, AND THE ECONOMIC DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR ZBIGNIEW ZIELINSKI.

11. SIMILAR PATTERNS ARE REFLECTED IN THE NEW LIST OF CC CANDIDATE MEMBERS, EXPANDED FROM 93 TO 111. MANY OBSERVERS HAD EXPECTED A TURNOVER OF MORE THAN 50 PERCENT IN THE CC AND CANDIDATE LIST, AND THIS WOULD HAVE OCCURRED HAD THE NEW

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MEMBERS BEEN ADMITTED WITHOUT EXPANSION OF THE TWO GROUPS. GIEREK SOUGHT TO BRING IN NEW MEMBERS WITHOUT WHOLESALE OUSTER OF OLD MEMBERS, THUS FASHIONING AN ORGANIZATION INCREASINGLY LOYAL TO HIM WITHOUT PROVOKING UNNECESSARY RESENTMENT. HIS FORMER RIVAL, MIECZYSLAW MOCZAR, FOR EXAMPLE, REMAINS ON THE CC, ALTHOUGH HE NOW SEEMS POLITICALLY QUIESCENT.

12. ACCORDING TO AN EXCELLENT PROFILE BY ZYGMUNT SZELIGA IN THE LATEST POLITYKA, THE NEW CC IS YOUNGER (AVERAGE AGE: 49.7) THAN ITS PREDECESSOR, AND NEARLY HALF ITS MEMBERS AND CANDIDATES JOINED THE PARTY AFTER 1948. REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES DOMINATE THE COMBINED LIST, WITH 58 PERCENT, AS OPPOSED TO 42 PERCENT FROM CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS. WARSAW PROVINCE BOASTS 16 MEMBERS, NOT COUNTING CENTRAL PARTY OFFICIALS, FOLLOWED BY KATOWICE WITH 13. NINETEEN OTHER PROVINCES HAVE 3 TO 4 MEMBERS, AND THE REST HAVE AT LEAST TWO

MEMBERS ON THE CC OR CANDIDATES' LIST. OF MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF VFNISTERS NOT EARLIER REFERRED TO IN THIS MESSAGE, ONLY VICE PREMIER ZDZISLAW TOMAL, FOOD INDUSTRY AND PURCHASE MINISTER EMIL KOLODZIEJ, FORESTRY MINISTER TADEUSZ SKWIRZYNSKI, HEAVY INDUSTRY MINISTER WLODZIMIERZ LEJCZAK, AND JUSTICE MINISTER WLODZIMIERZ BERUTOWICZ ARE NOT REPRESENTED. LEJCZAK WAS MOVED TO THE AUDITING COMMISSION, AND BERUTOWICZ KEPT HIS PLACE ON THE CONTROL COMMISSION. THE OTHERS HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY HELD ANY OF THE TOP PARTY POSTS.

13. FOREIGN MINISTRY REPRESENTATION ON THE CC AND CANDIDATES' LIST IS REDUCED. WHEREAS THREE VICE FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD HELD SUCH POSITIONS BEFORE, ONLY JOZEF CZYREK STAYED ON. JAN CZAPLA, NOW AMBASSADOR TO INDIA, WAS DROPPED, AND STANISLAW TREPCZYNSKI WAS MOVED TO THE AUDITING COMMISSION, JOINING HIS COLLEAGUE ROMUALD SPASOWSKI. COMPETITION AT THE VICE MINISTERIAL LEVEL SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN TOUGH, HOWEVER, AND ONLY THE AGRICULTURE, INTERIOR, AND DEFENSE MINISTRIES OBTAINED SUCH REPRESENTATION AT ALL, EACH WITH TWO MEMBERS. THE ONLY AMBASSADORS REPRESENTED ARE ZENON NOWAK (MOSCOW) AND EMIL WOJTASZEK (FRANCE), WHO BECAME A CANDIDATE MEMBER.

14. IN ANOTHER KEY AREA OF LEADERSHIP CONTROL, SZLACHCIC'S POLITICAL DEMISE SUGGESTS THAT GIEREK HAS ASSERTED THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PARTY'S DOMINATION OVER THE SECURITY APPARATUS FROM PORTIONS OF WHICH THE FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER DERIVED HIS SUPPORT. WITH AN APPARENT ALLUSION TO SZLACHCIC'S REPORTED, UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO AGITATE AMONG DISAFFECTED SECURITY ELEMENTS IN KRAKOW (REF G), A KNOWLEDGEABLE POLISH SOURCE RECENTLY EXPRESSED HIS CONVICTION THAT, POSSIBLY FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE ASSUMING POWER, THE PARTY HAS EFFECTIVELY SUBORDINATED THE SECURITY STRUCTURE TO ITS AUTHORITY. IF THIS IS AN ACCURATE DEPICTION, IT HAS IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STABILITY OF GIEREK'S REGIME.

15. WITH THE APPARENT DECLINE OF THE NATIONALISTS, THERE ARE STILL TWO WORRISOME CLOUDS ON THE DOMESTIC HORIZON -- THE NAGGING ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, ESPECIALLY CREEPING INFLATION COMBINED WITH MARKET SHORTAGES, AND THE RENEWAL OF INTELLECTUAL DISSIDENCE. POSSIBLY EMBOLDENED BY GIEREK'S EMPHASIS ON "CONSULTATION" AND SPARKED BY THE RETURN TO THE FIELD OF SOME HARD-CORE DISSIDENTS ARRESTED IN 1967-68 (REF H), THERE HAS BEEN A RISE OF QUASI-LEGAL PROTEST ACTIVITY, MAINLY IN THE FORM OF PETITIONING THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES. THE MOST RECENT SUCH INITIATIVE CAME IN THE FORM OF A LETTER TO THE SEJM ON THE EVE OF THE PARTY CONGRESS, CITING THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND

DEMANDING FULL ENJOYMENT OF NOMINALLY QUARANTEED LIBERTIES SUCH AS FREEDOM OF RELIGION, WORK, AND THE PRESS. THIS WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ANOTHER PETITION SIGNED BY ABOUT 300 INTELLECTUALS, PROTESTING ANY MOVE TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION THAT WOULD ENSHRINE THE LEADING ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE REGIME SO FAR SEEMS TO BE AT LEAST GRUDGINGLY TOLERATING SUCH ACTIVITY WITHOUT FORCING A CONFRONTATION, BUT THIS INCIPIENT MOVEMENT CONTAINS A HIGH POTENTIAL FOR EMBARRASSMENT TO GIEREK.

16. OF GREATER LONG-RUN CONCERN, THOUGH, IS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION. TO THE MAN IN THE STREET, THE ONLY IMPORTANT ISSUE OF THE CONGRESS WAS UNDOUBTEDLY THE QUESTION OF PRICE RISES. THE WELL-TO-DO WOULD PROBABLY ACCEPT EVEN SUBSTANTIAL PRICE INCREASES IF THERE WERE ACCOMPANYING INCREASES IN MARKET SUPPLIES, BUT POLAND'S WELL-TO-DO ARE PROBABLY ANXIOUS ABOUT OTHER BELT-TIGHTENING MEASURES, SUCH AS THE AMENDMENT TO THE "EQUALIZATION TAX" ADOPTED BY THE SEJM ON CONFIDENTIAL

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DECEMBER 19, WHICH, EFFECTIVE JANUARY 1, WILL APPARENTLY LOWER THE CEILING ON TAX-FREE INCOME.

17. IN SUM, THE CONGRESS WAS A DECIDED SUCCESS FOR GIEREK IN CONFIRMING THE APPEAL OF HIS BASIC POLICIES AND IN CONSOLIDATING THE STRUCTURE OF HIS AUTHORITY WITHIN THE PARTY AND HIS POWER IN THE COUNTRY. HIS ULTIMATE SUCCESS WILL DEPEND, HOWEVER ON HOW HE CONFRONTS THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES FACING HIM.
DAVIES

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